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MESSAGE

OF HIS EXCELLENCY

WILLIAM A. BUCKINGHAM,

GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT,

TO THE

LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE,

MAY SESSION, 1862.

Printed by Order of the Legislature.

NEW HAVEN:
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MESSAGE.

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, and
Gentlemen of the General Assembly:

We are privileged to live at a period of thought, and energy, and progress, when principles which lie at the foundation of organized society and national government are being reviewed and discussed by earnest champions, for the purpose of securing a new adjustment of civil rights. The struggle for supremacy is between the light which beams from intelligent and disinterested benevolence, and the darkness which surrounds ignorant and depraved selfishness, between order and anarchy, between the antagonisms of labor, and between the extremes of class. The contest is at our own firesides, between our own citizens, in the presence of an interested universal civilization, and is to test the strength of our institutions, and the stability of our National Government.

At a time when such issues are pending, the Legislature of a sovereign State occupies a position of high importance and grave responsibility. Your record will form one important link in that chain of grand events which connects our national existence of to-day with its past and its future; and your discussions will countenance and encourage the enemies of our republic now in rebellion against its authority, or aid in the triumph of constitutional liberty and the restoration of the power and integrity of the Union.

Called by the voice of the people to meet these responsibilities, we may, in humble dependence upon Divine influences, enter upon our labors with hope and courage, and discharge our duties with fidelity to our constituents, our country, and our God.

Of the many questions of public interest which will require your attention, there will be none more important than those which relate to the finances of the State, to our army of volun-

teers, and our militia system, as a means of public safety, and to our duties to the General Government, during the rebellion.

The balance in the Treasury, April 1, 1861, was . .	$ 42,290.50	
There has been received for State Bonds, during the year,	2,000,000.00	
For taxes from towns,	249,176.01	
From other sources, including premiums on Bonds,	155,279.83	
Total amount,		$2,446,746.34
There has been expended for military purposes,	1,866,097.52	
For other purposes,	282,159.40	—2,148,256.92
Leaving in the Treasury a balance of		$298,489.42
The present indebtedness of the State is—		
For Bonds issued,	$2,000,000.00	
For 3 months' interest,	30,000.00	
Making a total indebedness of		$2,030,000.00
The expenditures for the present year cannot be accurately given, but they may be estimated as follows:		
For the ordinary expenses,	$226,900.00	
For interest on Bonds,	120,000.00	
For payment to 10,342 Volunteers, $30 each,	310,260.00	
For payment to 2,932 families of Volunteers, in the aggregate,	301,224.00	
For ordnance, arms and accoutrements, which will be required for the State Militia, in addition to such as are in the Arsenal, belonging to the United States,	175,000.00	—1,133,384.00
		$3,163,384.00
The charges against the General Government, March 1, 1862, were	1,516,565.74	
On which a payment of $600,000 has been made by a certificate of indebtedness from the U. S. Treasurer, bearing interest. From the charges thus made may be deducted the value of arms and accoutrements, which may be retained for the State Militia, $150,000.00, and State tax due the United States Government, June 30, $261,981.90,	411,981.90	
	$1,104,583.84	
Add receipts from the usual sources of revenue without taxes from towns, estimated at	134,500.00	
Interest on certificate of indebtedness from the United States,	36,000.00	
Cash on hand,	298,489.42	—1,573,573.26
Estimated deficiency,		$1,589,810.74

It will probably be necessary to raise the sum mentioned above, which can be done either by taxation or a loan, or by both. This unusual condition of our finances arises principally from the liberal appropriations which have been made for the support of our volunteers, and for their families, rendered necessary by the war. For means of suppressing this rebellion, you are aware that the Government is endeavoring to adopt a new and, with us, an untried system of revenue, based upon the productive industry of the country, and one which will make still larger demands upon our pecuniary resources. But we have abundant ability to meet these claims. A very small part of the profits of our industry will be sufficient to supply the public treasury with ample means to prosecute the war, and furnish a good foundation for public credit. The people are wisely preparing for this demand, which many cheerfully anticipate and even earnestly desire. Sound policy dictates that you should avail yourselves of this self-sacrificing patriotism by making liberal provision to meet our exisiting obligations.

The School Fund, which has been of such value in opening free schools to every child in the State, originated from a sale of public lands lying in what is now the northeast part of Ohio. The sale was made in 1795 for the sum of one million two hundred thousand dollars. By the fidelity with which the present Commissioner and his predecessors have performed their duties, and husbanded the fund, it has produced an aggregate income of over five million three hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars, which has been used for educational purposes in the several school societies, and laid the foundation of that system of public education which has been the just pride and glory of our State. The fund now amounts to two million and fifty thousand four hnndred and sixty dollars and forty-nine cents, or nearly double the original capital. The income for the past year has been one hundred and thirty-one thousand and eighty-four dollars and thirteen cents, from which there has been made a dividend of one dollar and twenty cents to aid in the education of each of the one hundred and nine thousand and forty-two children, between the ages of four and sixteen years, in the State.

It is gratifying to know that amidst the troubles and excitements of the year, and the embarrassments which have attended nearly every pursuit, Common School Education has not suffered with the general depression. The schools have been prosperous, a larger attendance has been secured since the commencement of the war, a greater number of school houses are reported in good condition, the consolidation of districts and more perfect classification of scholars, in large towns, is advancing, and the sum raised for the support of public schools in districts and towns, by voluntary taxation, has more than doubled during the year. The State Normal School appears to have infused a lively interest in the work of teaching into the minds of its pupils, the most of whom have been successfully employed in this State, and have performed their labors with credit to themselves and the Institution.

The general cause of popular education has apparently advanced since the establishment of the Normal School and the present system of school superintendence. The Normal School has been so long and successfully in operation that we may regard it as an essential part, if not the centre of that system which places an education within the reach of every child, and may, with propriety, recognize it as one of our permanent institutions worthy of an annual appropriation for its support.

There are one hundred and forty-eight juvenile offenders in the State Reform School. The crimes and misdemeanors for which they were committed are graded from vagrancy up to forgery and arson.

The Board of Trustees, as well as the benevolent and sympathizing Superintendent and his assistants, are laboring for the intellectual and moral improvement of the inmates, and are satisfied that the Institution is on a better basis than at any former period of its history, and that the benefits which were anticipated by the early and steadfast friends of the Institution will soon be realized.

The diminished demand for labor has reduced the receipts of the State Prison to within a fraction of the expenditures. The institution appears to have been economically managed and faithfully conducted, not only with reference to the in-

terests of the public, but to the necessities of its one hundred and eighty inmates.

On the twenty-seventh day of March last, Daniel Webster, an able and faithful public officer, while in the performance of his duties as warden of the State Prison, was murderously assaulted by a convict, and died the following day from the wounds which he then received. Porter Kellogg, a prisoner, saw the assault, immediately rushed to the rescue, wrested the knife from the murderer, and thereby, probably, saved the warden from instant death. Lucius Rice, another prisoner, went to the place of danger as soon as he knew of the assault, evidently for the purpose of protecting the Warden, but before he could render much service the murderer had been overpowered. Such efforts for the maintenance of good discipline in the prision are worthy of special notice, and may furnish a good ground upon which you can, with safety to the public, shorten the term for which these convicts were senteneed.

Of the three hundred and ninety-seven patients admitted to the Retreat for the Insane, during the past year, one hundred and eighty-eight received pecuniary aid from the State to the amount of nine thousand four hundred and thirty-four dollars and thirty cents.

Seventy-one State beneficiaries have been discharged, thirty of whom were cured, twenty-two improved, twelve not improved, and seven dead.

Of the one hundred and seventeen cases, remaining on the thirty-first day of March, a majority are of long standing. Broken in body and mind, unqualified to care for themselves or benefit others, they have found a refuge and a home in the Retreat.

The benefits which flow from the State appropriation are not limited by the walls of the institution. In many instances, insanity has visited families, without pecuniary resources but of refinement and high moral worth, who by the most rigid economy and self-denying labors, have been barely able to sustain themselves, day by day, and, but for the timely aid rendered in the hour of increased necessity, from these funds, would suffer privations which would be a reproach to our people.

The benevolent public still favor the Institution by liberal contributions, which, under the supervision of the Board of Directors and the able and devoted Superintendent, are expended in improving the buildings, beautifying the grounds and increasing the means of restoring the minds of the inmates to sound and healthful action.

One hundred patients from thirty-three different towns in the State, have been supported, in whole or in part, at the Connecticut Hospital Society, by the State appropriation, six of whom have died, eighty-three been discharged, and eleven remain. One hundred and eleven have been, in part, supported by the State, at the Hartford Hospital, sixty-four of whom have been discharged, thirteen have died, and thirty-four remained on the first of March.

Both of these Institutions have been invaluable to our volunteers, by furnishing them with the comforts of a home while sick, and rendering such necessary care and medical aid as could have been secured in no other way.

There are eleven beneficiaries of the State, at the School for Imbeciles, under the charge of Doct. H. M. Knight, at Lakeville, seven in the Perkins Institute and Massachusetts Asylum for the Blind, and forty in the American Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb.

The Institutions of humanity and education require our constant and favorable consideration. We should not be influenced by parsimony, neither should the heavy burdens of war be permitted to incline us to withhold such support as is essential to their usefulness. They are the fruits and evidences of an enlightened philanthropy—the barometer by which we can judge whether our country is advancing in the sunlight of intelligence, civilization and Christianity, or whether it is to be darkened and desolated by the storm of ignorance, depravity and selfishness.

The general depression of business of the country has had its influences upon our Railroads, and their receipts in consequence have been reduced seventen per cent. the past year.

The New London and New Haven Railroad having been unable to meet its obligations as they matured, has passed

from the management of the Directors, into the hands of the Trustees; and is now operated for the benefit of the first mortgage Bond holders, in accordance with the provisions of the Act of 1858.

The roads are reported in good condition, and the fact that during the past eight years over twenty-three millions of persons have been conveyed over them, with the loss of the life of only one passenger while riding in his seat, is evidence that they have been operated by their agents, and guarded by the public, with reference to the general safety.

The Bank Commissioners report the seventy-five Banks of discount and deposit in an improved condition from last year. They took a large portion of the last State loan of one million two hundred thousand dollars, and are rendering the usual facilities to the business interests of the State. They have an aggregate capital of twenty-one million, seven hundred and ninety thousand, nine hundred and thirty-seven dollars.

Deposits amounting to six million, seventy-nine thousand, two hundred and three dollars and fifty-nine cents, a circulation of eight million and twenty-three thousand, six hundred and eighty-one dollars, and one million, five hundred and eighteen thousand, three hundred and sixteen dollars and sixty-two cents, in specie. Their circulation has increased seventeen per cent., their deposits twenty per cent., and their specie fifty per cent., since the last annual report.

The deposits in Savings Banks amount to nineteen million, nine hundred and eighty-three thousand, nine hundred and fifty-nine dollars and forty-four cents, being an increase of six hundred and six thousand, two hundred and eighty-nine dollars and twenty-six cents, during the year. The deposits in the Building Associations amount to one million, six hundred and ninety-six thousand, seven hundred and sixty-seven dollars and seventy-two cents.

The occurrences of the past year are in themselves incontestable arguments to prove the necessity of devising a system for protecting the rights of our citizens against foreign or domestic intervention. Such means of protection can be secured in no way so surely and economically, as by a legally organized system of militia.

I will state briefly a few principles, upon which, in my judgment, such a system should be founded, refer to a few provisions and deficiencies in our present law, and would respectfully request you to make such amendments and additions to it as our position and circumstances appear to demand.

The Government is established for the benefit and safety of our citizens. In an imperfect state of society this end can be attained only by concentrating and controlling so much of the physical power of the State as may be necessary to protect the person, the property, and the liberty of each individual. The citizen, being a part of the State, is under obligations to perform a part of that service, or furnish a portion of that power which is required by the State for the protection of every other citizen. This obligation to protect on the one hand, and render service on the other, is mutual between the Government and the governed, and furnishes the necessity for a military system.

A law, therefore, for the organization of such a system should not merely invite but secure the requisite service. It may not be framed in accordance with the wishes of the individual, but like every other law should be in conformity with the aggregate views and just requirements of a majority of the people. The citizen may regard the performance of military duty as a burden, like taxation, but the Government must, for self-preservation, see that the burden is borne.

The demands of the law should be addressed to physical ability. Wealth and poverty are not the only standards by which we can judge of the capacity of the State to defend her citizens. The one class should not be exonerated by a nominal pecuniary penalty, nor the other burdened with heavy expenditures by the requirements of law. The parts of the system should be so complete and harmonious that the whole force, or any portion thereof, could rapidly be put into requisition.

I would further suggest as important, if not essential, a division of militia into two classes, according to age, the younger of which should be required to perform active service, and be first tendered to the General Government, on requisition by the President. And also, that the State be divided into mili-

tary districts, according to population, and a Board of officers be appointed to examine the qualifications of all nominees for regimental and line officers, before they be commissioned.

The act relating to the militia on our Statute books differs in some respects from the principles suggested. It requires not only the enrollment of all persons liable to perform military duty, but the organization of an active force, to consist of not less than forty nor more than sixty-four companies, liable, at all times, to be called into the service of the State, and in case of war or insurrection, to be turned over into the service of the United States, in compliance with any requisition made by the President. It provides that if volunteers do not offer in sufficient numbers to fill the active militia, the deficiency may be supplied by drafting.

On the 14th of January last, only thirteen companies, embracing but six hundred and nineteen men, from an enrollment of fifty-four thousand three hundred and forty, had volunteered to form a part of the active militia. To complete the organization contemplated, the Commander-in-Chief issued an order to the Selectmen of the several towns which had not furnished their quota to designate by lot from the inactive militia one person to every eighty inhabitants, and make return of the enrollment to the Adjutant General.

Many who were thus designated as a part of the active militia, paid ten dollars, as provided in the 12th section of the law, and their names were not enrolled.

Although it was manifest that the public Treasury might be largely benefited in this manner, yet it was equally manifest that the mode of taxation was unequal, and that proper subjects for military duty could defeat the contemplated organization.

New drafts became necessary to supply the deficiency, and new vacancies occurred by the payment of fines, until it became evident that some towns would not furnish their quota without re-drafting those who claimed to be exonerated from service through compliance with the alternate provisions of the act. As these results were neither desired nor anticipated by the framers of the law, and as other provisions of the act

appeared to require amendments before the burdens could be equitably distributed, and as hopes were encouraged that the active militia would be increased by other volunteers, further action, under the order for drafting, was suspended.

I trust you will direct the Selectmen to refund to the parties who paid the fines, the money now held under a strict compliance with the order.

You will judge as to the limit of expenditure in the purchase of arms and equipments for the State militia.

It appears to me important that we should have enough to supply at least ten thousand infantry, and a proportionate force of artillery and cavalry. Anticipating your action on this subject, I have already given the Quarter-Master-General orders to purchase ordnance and equipments to complete five batteries of artillery, each to be composed of four 6-pound cannon and two 12-pound howitzers, and one battery of four 12-pound cannon and two 24-pound howitzers, all to be of the quality and standard last adopted by the War Department.

The heavy battery will be well adapted to aid in coast defense, and should be located with reference to that object.

A act to provide for the organization and equipment of a Volunteer Militia, and to provide for the public defense, approved May 8, 1861, together with acts in addition thereunto, approved June 27, 1861, and Oct. 16, 1861, authorized the Executive to accept the services of an unlimited number of volunteers, and cause them to be enlisted and mustered into the service of the State for the purpose of being turned over to the service of the United States, and conferred ample power to organize, officer, and equip them, in such a manner as he should order and direct.

Under this act there had been organized, mustered, and turned over to the service of the United States, on the 15th day of April, thirteen Regiments of Infantry, embracing in officers and men,	12,904
One Battalion and one squadron of Cavalry,	518
One Battery of Light Artillery,	156
Making a total of	13,578

Three Regiments of Infantay, which were organized for three months, have been mustered out of service, numbering	2,340
There have been reported as dead,	191
Resigned,	31
Discharged,	228
	2,790
Leaving now in the service,	10,788

More intelligent, patriotic, and self-sacrificing men, never entered the military service of any government. They have patiently suffered privations without murmuring, and submitted to the discipline of the camp in preparation for the severer but more welcome duties of the battle-field. Strengthened by high moral determination, they have manifested gallantry, intrepidity, and courage sufficient to show that they counted not their lives dear unto themselves if, by their sacrifice, they might re-establish the blessings of constitutional liberty. Their record will make a brilliant page in the history of our Commonwealth.

While organizing the several Regiments, I was often assured that young men of pure patriotism and high moral character were unwilling to enlist until the company officers were designated, as their comfort and efficiency depended very much upon the character of those in command. For the purpose of removing this obstacle to enlistments, I appointed and commissioned, in October and November, a number of Second Lieutenants, with special authority to recruit, and issued an order confining the choice of the two higher officers in any company which might be organized by the consolidation of squads thus recruited, to those Lieutenants. Contrary to my anticipations volunteering very rapidly declined, until I returned to the former system, and commissioned those who presented themselves as officers of companies which they had been the principal instruments in recruiting, and those who were nominated by the companies. Exceptions to this general rule were made in cases where a Board of Examiners appointed by the Commander-in-Chief reported against the candidates, and where other satisfactory evidence of disqualification was presented.

Two companies of cavalry have, without expense to the State, been organized in the usual manner, and the officers commissioned by this Department. They united with and form a part of the Harris Light Cavalry, a regiment recognized by the War Department as belonging to New York. Several vacancies have occurred in their offices, which have been filled by men from other States, but they have not been commissioned by me. I fear these appointments and commissions from other authorities may go so far that the companies can no longer be recognized as organizations of Connecticut, in which event the men may not be able to secure the payment allowed our volunteers. I have called the attention of the Colonel to the subject, but have not been advised of any change in the course hitherto pursued.

The arms and equipments for the two Companies of Cavalry already referred to, the arms for the Ninth and Twelfth Regiments of Infantry, four thousand eight hundred and fifty-six stands of arms for other Infantry, and most of the appointments for the Twelfth Regiment, were furnished by the General Government. All other expenditures incident to arming, equipping, and furnishing the volunteers, including horses for the Artillery and the Battalion of Cavalry, and the charge for the transportation of three Regiments to Washington, have been met from the State Treasury.

The account of the State against the General Government, made up the first of March, 1862, contained charges for

Equipage,	$ 202,017.98
Clothing,	586,266.94
Transportation,	66,910.59
Fuel, straw, and forage,	15,959.36
Incidentals,	25,826.07
Ordnance and ordnance stores,	348,946.70
Subsistence,	61,904.33
Medical Department,	2,751.81
Pay Department,	191,585.31
Interest,	41,363.83
Total,	$1,543,532.92
From which deduct charges for equipments sold to Ohio, and receipts for property sold, amounting to	26,967.18
Leaving a balance of	$1,516,565.74

due at that time from the government. The account with the vouchers has been presented to the United States Treasury Department, but has not yet been audited.

With the exception of extra compensation allowed by the State to her volunteers and their families, the account is intended to embrace all expenses incurred for arms, clothing, and all appointments, together with the wages, paid from the time the troops entered the service of the State to the time they were mustered into the service of the United States, and an advance of about two months' pay to the Battalion of Cavalry.

The property thus charged and not distributed is held as belonging to the Government of the United States, and subject to the order of the War Department. There are, however, five thousand one hundred and thirty-one rifles and muskets, as well as accoutrements, in the hands of the Quarter-Master-General, which, I trust, may be retained for the use of the State Militia, by accounting for them in settling with the General Government.

The Paymaster-General visited a number of Regiments while on the Potomac, and made the first and second payments due them from the State. The expenses necessary to meet these payments, the hazards incident to the transmission of funds, the difficulty of gaining access to Regiments, scattered in the southern part of the country, together with the fact tha the amount paid by the General Government would meet all ordinary necessities of the troops, induced the Commander-in-Chief to order the Paymaster-General to suspend his visits for the above named object, and to prescribe a form of draft on that officer, by which the amount due the volunteer might, without risk, be transmitted to his family, or to any person at his discretion. Irregularity and delay in forwarding the monthly Regimental returns to the Adjutant-General, which contain the evidence of service for which the soldier is entitled to pay, often postpones the payment of these orders, occasions disappointment to the holder, and increased labor to the Paymaster.

Eliot Beardsley of Winsted, and Charles C. Johnson of Nor-

wich, having been appointed by the President Allotment Commissioners for this State, have entered upon their unpaid labors, and are rendering valuable aid to many families of volunteers by securing to them a part of the pay due from the United States.

The act to which I have referred authorizes the Governor to organize and officer the volunteers, in such a manner as he shall direct.

Under this provision, and with the conviction that an officer possessing proper qualifications, holding a position above the Colonels of the several regiments, could render important service to the State, the rank of Brigadier-General was offered to Daniel Tyler of Norwich, a gentleman of large military acquirements, and practically conversant with the details of army appointments. The office was declined, except upon the condition dictated by him, that any duties to which he might be assigned should be performed without remuneration for service rendered or expenses incurred. He was untiring in his devotion to the public interests, and rendered efficient and valuable services in organizing and equipping the volunteers, as well as in making up the accounts of the State against the General Government, from the 19th of November until about the middle of March, when he was called by the Secretary of War to fill the more important position of Brigadier-General of Volunteers, in active service. Such an example of self-denying patriotism contrasts, most pointedly and favorably, with occasional instances of self-advancement at the expense of the necessities of the Government.

John H. Almy, residing temporarily in the city of New York, has been appointed Assistant Quarter-Master-General, and has devoted much time and rendered highly important service to the State, by securing from the Government payment to disabled volunteers while detained in that city, and by aiding in the transportation of troops, and adding to their comfort, whether on their way to the seat of war or returning sick and wounded to their friends. He has received only the amount expended by him in the performance of his duties, his patriotism having led him to decline compensation for services rendered.

I would refer you to the able and interesting report of the Adjutant-General, which exhibits in detail the organization of the several volunteer corps, the officers and number of men in each, the resignations and promotions, the number killed and wounded in battle, and the number of privates and officers from each town and city in the State. It will also be seen that there are ten thousand three hundred and forty-two privates and non-commissioned officers, and two thousand nine hundred and thirty-two families entitled to pay from the State.

The report presents the number of active and enrolled militia and valuable suggestions respecting a more perfect militia system.

John M. Hathaway was appointed Quarter-Master-General June 4, 1857, and continued in office until his resignation, August 31, 1861. Jonathan B. Bunce was commissioned as his successor, but resigned his post on the 16th day of January, when the vacancy was filled by the appointment of William A. Aiken. His report very clearly presents the present condition of his Department, with an inventory of property on hand purchased for the volunteers in the service of the United States, as well as an inventory of arms, equipments, and other military appointments, owned by the State, and specifies the places where they are deposited.

William O. Irish, Paymaster-General, resigned his position on the 18th day of January, 1862, and his place was filled by the appointment of William Fitch.

Your attention is called to the law providing compensation for this officer, which, in case of death or resignation, is liable to more than one construction.

Some idea of the increased labor and responsibility of this Department may be formed from the fact, that it is subject to over thirty thousand orders per annum, from the present number of volunteers now in the service. That the duties of the officers in the other military departments have increased as largely, may be a reason why the law regulating their compensation should also be reviewed.

It is my duty to acknowledge, in this public manner, the receipt of a steel cannon, a gift from the Hon. Henry S. Sanford,

Minister of the United States to Belgium, which, for the calibre, is unequaled in lightness and durability, by any ordnance, prized not only for its excellence of workmanship, its superior finish and intrinsic value, but as an offering of a loyal son of Connecticut, tendered as a substitute for personal services, while detained abroad, in the performance of official duties.

On the twenty-seventh day of November I sent notice, by mail, to the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, that the General Assembly of this State had resolved to assume and pay her quota of the direct tax, laid by Congress, on or before the time required by the statute.

A communication was soon received from that officer, evidently written before the receipt of my letter, inquiring whether the State of Connecticut would assume and pay such tax, and also whether, in case of any change in the law, by which a different and perhaps larger amount should be apportioned to the State, the authorities would probably pay it.

On the fourth day of December I sent that officer a certified copy of the resolution, passed by the General Assembly at its special session, by which our Senators and Representatives in Congress were instructed to use their efforts to procure the repeal of that part of the act of Congress relating to a tax on incomes, approved August 5th, 1861, confirmed the notice previously given of the intention of this State to assume and pay her own quota of the direct tax already imposed by Congress, and stated that we would assume and pay our quota of any specific tax which Congress might impose upon the several States, and also that "Connecticut has adopted a system of taxation in accordance with the views, usages and business interests of her citizens, a system altogether better for her people than any which may be adopted by the General Government, and she will ever prefer meeting her pecuniary obligations to the Government through her own officers rather than through assessors and collectors appointed by Federal authorities."

The arrest of Mason and Slidell, bearers of dispatches from the rebel confederacy, to foreign powers, by the captain of an armed United States ship, while they were on board an English

vessel, led the British Government to assume a threatening attitude towards this nation, and make a demand for the immediate and unconditional surrender of the prisoners.

The event excited among our citizens some interest for the defense of the southern part of our State, to which my attention was specially called by the authorities of the city of New Haven.

As the duty of providing defenses against a common enemy devolves upon the National Government, I brought the subject to the notice of the Secretary of War, and at an interview with that officer, represented the exposure of our territory, lying nearly one hundred miles on Long Island Sound, to foreign invasion, and the evident necessity of some action by the Government. Assurance was given that the whole subject of national coast defense had been committed to a Board of competent Engineers, with instructions to examine and report some plan or system for protecting the entire line, and that in that plan the interests of Connecticut would be properly regarded. The subject is now before Congress, and, through the influence of our Senators and Representatives, will undoubtedly receive due attention.

That such a pressing demand as has been stated, connected with extensive warlike preparations at home, and the gathering of a large naval force upon our shores, unaccompanied by any indication that an amicable adjustment of questions at issue might be secured, or was even desired, should have been made by an enlightened, powerful and magnanimous nation, at a period in which all our energies were required to grapple successfully with a most formidable and extended internal rebellion, upon the suppression of which depended not only the very existence of our National Government, but the highest interest of civilization and human liberty, overwhelms us with grief and indignant astonishment.

We shall learn a valuable lesson from the occurrence, if we rely less upon professions of amity and philanthropy, and adopt a more rigid policy to protect our own labor and stimulate our own skill and genius, so as to develop our resources to the full production of whatever will make us independent

of the clamor of foreign commerce, and fearless of the menaces of foreign power.

Our National Constitution was founded upon the divine right of man to self-government, and adopted by the people under a solemn pledge of submission and obedience to the will of the majority.

A denial of this principle, a violation of these pledges by the minority, and the claim that the superior and more intelligent class has a right, based upon the importance of a more perfect development of our social condition, to the control and service of the inferior class, are the causes of the present rebellion against our National Government.

It originates, not in a deprivation of constitutional rights, not in well-founded complaints and grievances which can be properly redressed, but in the arrogant claims of an oligarchy to dictate in the administration of the Government.

A refusal to yield to such imperious demands, is the ground upon which the rebels justify their renunciation of allegiance to Federal authority.

The people, acting as a court of appeals, have passed sentence of condemnation upon every rebel. A determination to execute the judgment leads the convict to cry out against coercion, while disloyal citizens stimulate his powers of resistance, and prolong his struggle by tendering him their sympathies and dilating upon the horrors of civil war.

Who shall be sustained, the criminal or the court? Which shall be successful, the rebellion or the Government?

These questions are no longer open to the ordinary modes of adjustment, for reason has given place to passion, the forms of law to anarchy, and both the rebel and the loyalist, appealing to high Heaven, leave the questions at issue to the arbitrament of the sword.

While the sword may not determine the constitutionality or morality of questions at issue, it may establish the conditions upon which the Government shall hereafter exist, and the principles upon which it shall be administered.

The war may determine whether the Government, which shall continue in being after this revolution, shall recognize

slavery as a divine institution, nourish and foster the system as though it were sacred, and give its supporters increased and undue influence and power; or whether it shall continue to rest upon the principles of liberty as embodied in the Declaration of Independence, and protect the rights of the citizen by the enforcement of constitutional law.

The sword may determine whether this National Union, which Washington declared was of immense value to our collective and individual happiness, and which he urged us to think and speak of as the palladium of our political safety and prosperity, shall be preserved in its integrity, or whether it shall be dismembered by rebellion.

Physical force may not be able to force loyalty into the hearts of insurgents, nor inspire them with love for the Union; but it can restrain outbursts of violence, which endanger and destroy the liberties of a people, and command respect even from rebels, for a government which exercises its power to maintain its own supremacy.

For these reasons we should, to the force of these right arms, add that moral power which is drawn from the deep conviction that our cause rests upon the same pillars of justice and equity which uphold the government of Jehovah.

The decision will not be one of blind chance, but will be directed by God to accomplish His purposes, which, we trust, will be the advancement and more perfect development of such principles of government as are essential to the well-being of our race.

If it is true that empires lie between a battle lost and a battle won, it is equally true that, in the great distance between anarchy on the one hand, and a Constitutional Government on the other, lie the interests of civil liberty, humanity and Christianity.

Whether these interests, so vital to our race, shall be secured, and the blessings which they bring shall increase, year by year, as they have thus far, under the conservative influences of our Government, until the whole world shall feel their elevating, life-giving power; or whether treason shall roll the cause of civil liberty back to the barbarism, despotism and in-

fidelity of past ages, depends, under God, in a great measure, upon the vigor with which we fight this battle for freedom.

The rebellion derives significance from its development at this period of our history. If in the spring-time of our National existence, the seeds of popular liberty had not germinated, or, if the tender blade had early withered and died, another form of government might have been substituted, and neither we, nor the world, had known the loss.

But we have nourished and cherished the Federal Union for nearly a century, and held up our prosperity, power and free institutions, as the genuine fruits of popular government, until the oppressed, under every form of tyranny, have looked with hope towards this nation, and have cherished great anticipations of a rich harvest of liberty, from our labors and our example.

The magnitude of interests involved, and the period in our history in which they are submitted to the dread arbitrament of war, are considerations which press the issue upon the immediate attention of the American people, with an importance which duty to God and to man requires us to meet, whatever the cost, whatever the hazard.

In the execution of the high responsibilities committed to our charge, we need not be careful to take counsel of our enemies, or be guided by their opinions.

If plighted faith restrains us from interfering with slavery, we are under no obligations to strengthen and uphold that institution.

Slavery has forced us into a civil war; but insists that we have no right to use the war power against her interests.

Slavery has repudiated her obligations to the Constitution; and yet claims protection by virtue of its provisions.

Let us not be deceived by such fallacy. The Constitution was adopted for the mutual interest of the citizen, on the one part, and the public on the other. He who refuses to obey its requirements, must not expect its benefits. Slavery, by denying her obligations to the Constitution, has opened the door for the operation of principles of righteousness and justice, which dictated that instrument, and if in pressing those principles to

their legitimate results, slavery shall be undermined and perish, let us rejoice that the life of the suicide is of no importance, to enlarged and universal liberty.

The voice of Connecticut may well be uttered at such a crisis as this. Think not that it is feeble;—its strength depends upon the sentiments spoken. Resolutions for the purpose of laying down party platforms, or affecting party interests, may be of no practical advantage to the public, but resolutions which embody sound principles of liberty, may, like all truth, be often reiterated with benefit.

The Government rests upon the popular will, and timely and truthful manifestations of that will, upon questions of national policy and duty, may cheer the Administration, uphold the arm of the President and his constitutional advisers, give direction to congressional legislation, send a thrill of joy through the hearts of our patriotic volunteers, and materially aid in re-establishing the peace and liberties of the people.

To press this contest to a final settlement, more prolonged and vigorous efforts may be required, and more costly sacrifices demanded.

Other years of anxiety, and labor, and pecuniary embarrassment may intervene. The burdens of taxation may still be heavier. The battles of Roanoke Island, Donelson and Pittsburg Landing, may be again fought on the mountains of Virginia and in the valleys of the Mississippi. Blood, which has ever been the price of liberty, may yet flow more copiously, on new fields of strife and carnage.

The lives of other sons, even the life of Benjamin, may be required on the altar of our common country.

These penalties so severe, these sacrifices so heart-rending—the results of this unholy rebellion against constitutional liberty—are monuments established by the providence of God, as a warning to all coming generations against a repetition of the damning crime.

But by such efforts and such sacrifices the sword, under Divine guidance, will render a just decision, and return to its scabbard.

The Union, as a central, controlling idea, will have a strong-

er hold upon the affections of the popular heart. Democracy, now scoffed at and despised by the aristocracy in every land, will be the leaven to infuse its vitalizing influence through the race, and subvert the foundations of monarchy and despotism. Emancipation, so successfully commenced at the Capital, may, by the co-operation of the State and National Governments, be constitutionally and peacefully extended.

Institutions inconsistent with and antagonistic to liberty, will be weakened and left to their own destiny.

The nation which in one short year has created a navy,—completely revolutionizing the laws of marine warfare,—and organized, furnished and equipped an army of 680,000 volunteers; who, with their blood, are now baptizing and reconsecrating the land to liberty, has a recuperative power and a vital energy, which will carry it through the fiery ordeal strengthened and purified.

The people, aroused by this rebellion, will rescue the nation from a destruction, threatened before it has reached the meridian of its glory; and, in clearly and fully demonstrating the problem of self-government, will reinstate national authority over every captured fortress, establish its supremacy over every revolted State, and cause the Republic to rise in greatness, dignity and grandeur, until she shall command the respect and fear of nations now envious of her prosperity and jealous of her power.

WILLIAM A. BUCKINGHAM.

New Haven, May 7th, 1862.

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